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231 ment while two others had been sent to River Joe's son-in-law, Louis Maza, because of the report that the latter had killed two moose.

[552] Most people call their dogs in English. Some of the names given are: Tobacco, Paper, Yukon, Boiler, One Dollar, Spotty and Wolverine (also called Long Face in the Kaska [422] language). Dogs are generally owned by men, but women and children usually prepare their food and feed them.

Little attention is paid to keeping dogs free from fleas or lice, although wood ashes applied to the animal's hair is regarded as effective in killing these pests. An efficient way of removing porcupine quills from a dog is to empty a porcupine's bladder on the affected parts. The urine stops the quills from penetrating further and the needles can then be painlessly withdrawn.

231 A few Nelson Indians own horses purchased from points outside of the Kaska area.[1]
492 A family generally owns two or three horses and the winter mortality of the animals is
[439] apparently high. Horses are used as riding animals by both sexes. Boys from the age of twelve experience great enjoyment galloping and often ride bareback. Western type saddles are generally employed and preferred for riding. The main function of horses is to pack supplies from the trading post to the winter settlements, but they are also used in summer and fall to pack meat from a moose kill. One or two people in the Upper Liard River district considered purchasing horses with which winter outfits could be transported overland northeastward from the Alaska Highway. Other Indians maintained that horses are suitable east of Lower Post because there the snow is not very deep and horses can winter out. On the Upper Liard, however, the deeper snow would make winter feeding a serious problem. No grain is purchased for the winter feeding of horses. Some men showed considerable affection for these animals and also demonstrated a knowledge of equine qualities.

411 *Weapons.* Large and small caliber rifles are used in hunting. The single-shot bolt-action
224 rifle, firing a short or long .22 caliber cartridge, is mainly used for fowl and small game like rabbits. It is also used to kill furbearing animals, such as lynx, wolf and coyote, when these are found alive in traps. The relatively low cost of this gun permits extensive distribution. It is the first weapon which the adolescent boy or girl is able to use and own. The larger rifles of Canadian or American manufacture, firing a .30/30 or /.30/06 caliber shell, are used for killing large game like the moose and caribou. These guns are also regarded as necessary protection against the danger of bears. Their ownership is restricted to men, older boys, and women.

411 Considerable interest and discussion revolves around the types of shells available for
813 large caliber rifles. Long shells are preferred in the .22 size. Hard point large caliber car-

[1] According to one informant the horse was introduced from Fort Nelson, presumably by members of the Nelson Tribe. If true, this would put the date of the introduction of the horse after 1900, or after this animal reached the Fort Nelson Slave (Honigmann, *Ethnography and Acculturation of the Fort Nelson Slave* [1946], 114). According to Old Man, however, the Kaska certainly *saw* their first horse many years earlier, when the Klondike miners passed up the Liard and Frances Rivers' valleys. It is also possible that the horse was originally introduced from the south, via Forts Grahame and Ware, rather than from the east, and it is also well to remember that horse packing for big game hunters has long been an important occupation at Telegraph Creek. In 1944-45 a number of white packers kept horses around Racing River, 150 miles east of Lower Post, and also at Teslin Lake. Indians purchased horses during this period from a trucker, who brought the animals from Dawson Creek.

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224 461 12:4:45. Old Man and his wife (who was still feeling ill) left for the trap line. Harry returned with one lynx and two fox.

12:7:45. Hans returned with two lynx and one fox.

12:10:45. Started for Lower Post.

224 Most trapping is done with the aid of metal traps obtained from local trading stores in various sizes. A well equipped trapper sets fifty or more traps. If he is diligent and well supplied he sets traps at about a quarter mile intervals.

The trap is set in a locale showing animal tracks or at a spot which is reputed to be favorable or lucky for trapping a certain species of fur bearing animal. A fox or lynx trap is generally set with the aid of two trees. One of these, a tree two or three inches in diameter, is lightly grazed with an ax about twelve inches from the ground. About half a teaspoonful of scent or bait is smeared on the exposed wood, and the trap placed at the base. The second tree, a low sapling about an inch thick, is cleaned of branches and used as a fixed toggle—the chain of the trap being slipped over the tree. If two trees are not found in conjunction at a likely place, a free toggle, a pole two or three inches in diameter and six feet long, is used and lodged under a large piece of deadwood. Heavier toggles are employed for animals, like the wolverine, which would chew through a thin sapling. The trap itself is set on a thin layer of brush in order to prevent it from freezing into the snow. Four or five bare twigs, about ten inches high, are set at both sides of the trap as a pen and are designed to force the animal to come straight to the bait and thus step into the open trap. The stick used to smear the scent on the blaze is placed to the rear of the trap as an additional lure. To set a trap in this fashion takes about five minutes. The favorite bait for lynx, fox, mink, and other animals is a mixture of ground beaver castors mixed with lard or butter. A dead squirrel caught in a trap may also be left for bait. Bread or meat is regarded as suitable bait for weasel, while oil of cassia is used for marten, mink, fisher, and coyote. Canned sardines may occasionally be substituted for beaver castors. Sometimes no bait or scent is used and the trap is set blind in the middle of a trail, being covered with a little dry grass. Indians are not generally interested in the experimental approach which white trappers lend to their work, but a number of Nelson Indians reported utilizing bright paper and coffee tins to attract animals' attention. In addition to metal traps, most men also set four or five wire snares for wolf and coyote.

By the time a trapper revisits his trap line, the animals caught have generally frozen to death. If they are still alive they are either shot in the head with a .22 or, if not savage, clubbed to death with a stick.

224 422 The general practice is for every adolescent and adult in a family to set traps in the territory agreed upon as his part of the trap line. Sometimes, however, two men, related or unrelated, may set traps together in a single area. Generally one of these "partners" is a youth who is often referred to as assisting his companion. Although the two men operate together, each really traps independently. That is, the fur caught in the traps which he sets (whether these traps are owned by, or loaned to, him) is his own. The same principle obtains if adolescent girls or married women set traps given to them by a husband or father; the fur caught becomes their own.

224 With the arrival of the beaver season a family may leave the winter settlement and move to an area near a beaver resort. Beaver, being less difficult to obtain than fine fur and earning

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The things, around which property relations revolve, are quantitatively slight and qualitatively of little intrinsic value. Associated with these conditions, is the fact that interpersonal adjustments with reference to the subject matter of property have not been rigorously formalized. In recent years, however, the accumulation of stores of purchased winter food and capital goods has increased. One result of this accumulation may be seen in the conflict between such divergent property conceptions as loose personal control and strict private ownership. It is apparent that the growing amount of material goods is making the absence of concepts of strict personal control disturbing. We are therefore probably dealing with a transition period, in which property conceptions are becoming more rigorously formulated and ideas of strict personal ownership gaining in importance. These points should be borne in mind in reading the following material.

As near as could be learned, the subject matter of property includes the land but stops short of the fauna that pass over the land. The control of land, however, gives the owner the exclusive right to kill fur bearing animals on his territory but is less explicit about conferring exclusive privileges of killing game animals and birds. In one case, Old Kean protested when a white man announced his intention of hunting moose on the former's trap line, but generally little attention is paid to where a man hunts or fishes so long as he restricts trapping to his own territory. Ownership does not usually include the flora unless it has been affected by the owner's labor. Thus dried trees are ideally recognized as belonging to the person who killed them, although others do use such wood for fuel. Property is not extended to include spouses or children; a person may express authority over children but he would not claim to owning them.

All property is conceived of as privately owned. Ownership confers certain powers over the subject matter of property, including ideal control over permanent alienation and use. This ideal control indicates that the owner has the right to refuse the loan or transfer of his property in case of another's need. Manifestly, however, this right is restricted. The closer property relations involve the members of a settlement, the more limited is a man's control over the use of his property. Different categories of property are variously correlated with the right of use or access by others. Capital goods are probably most highly correlated in this respect; personal objects, like clothes, least; and grub, intermediately. Implicitly, the owner recognizes that his ownership fails to give him full power of control, so long as others lack and need his possessions. Often refusal to transfer needed objects is indirect; the owner may beg that he does not have what is needed. Such indirect refusal to lend further points to recognition of the limited control which is actually exercised over many possessions. There are, however, thick-skinned individuals who refuse to acknowledge the unformalized right of others to use their property and who, directly, strive to maintain full control. Such people are disliked and are branded as stingy or cranky. It is interesting that such people often try to defend their action, as though recognizing the lack of social support for their behavior. It must be pointed out that few people acknowledge their limited control willingly or generously. Conversely, most people never strongly express their right to use another's property.

A few examples of property relations may clarify these principles. Old Kean said one day that he had almost three year's supply of food at his place. He added with unconcealed

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422 annoyance: "All winter people I feed," Chronically this man complained of his sons' thefts.
421 He was widely regarded as cranky and ungenerous. Similarly Old Man told the ethnographer that he didn't want to buy too large a supply of dog feed. If he did, he said, his sons-in-law would feel too free to use it. Light was thrown on attitudes toward too exclusive control
423 of property when Leonard Dick stayed a night in Mrs. Dickson's unoccupied cabin in
421 Lower Post. The next day he moved out and into a tent, despite the fact that his son was ill. We asked Old Man why Leonard did this. Old Man replied: "Maybe he hear kick coming. That's why he move out. Hard to get around that woman. She's mean . . . Anybody come around his place, she grab ax." The following day Old Man commented: "Some people pretty bad. Kick about it if you use their cabin or stuff winter time in bush. We do it just the same."

423 The principal forms of real property are land, houses, and caches. Each family head may be regarded as owning his trap line, a piece of territory varying in size from about two hundred to five hundred square miles. In British Columbia these trapping areas have been clearly mapped for each individual and the ownership is registered. Here trap lines are relatively small. In the Yukon, however, registered trap lines have not yet been introduced and considerably more confusion pertains to the boundaries of such a territory. Disputes over limits are not infrequent in the Yukon and, when these are called to the attention of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, they are generally adjudicated by fixing some waterway as the boundary. It is rare for such questions to be referred to the police. Generally a man who feels that his trapping privileges are being infringed upon remains content to complain to his friends and to gossip unfavorably about the infringer. There is apparently no severe shortage of trapping ground and most trap lines are far from completely exploited. Trap lines are owned by men with only two exceptions noted. In these two cases women received their lines from husbands.

Use of a trap line is freely granted to all the members of the owner's primary family and may also be apportioned among a man's younger brothers and, temporarily, to a partner. Following marriage of a daughter and matrilocal residence by a son-in-law, the head of the household assigns an area of the trapping territory for the use of the young man. A son-in-law refers to this area as "mine," and only when pressed will he recognize the fact that final ownership is still invested in his father-in-law.

Houses are built by men, but their ownership is theoretically vested in woman. Tents also belong to women; they are sometimes manufactured by women but may also be pur-
[177] chased by men. River Joe, who is part Taku Indian (a tribe which has probably been more strongly influenced by coastal Indian attitudes than the Kaska), expressed an atypical conception of house ownership when he indicated that houses may be linked through female relatives. Thus his house, which was owned by his deceased wife (a member of the Wolf moiety) was said to be linked to the house which his son-in-law, Louis Maza, had built and transferred to his wife (also a Wolf). Both houses were "just the same," River Joe affirmed.

422 Movable property includes all items of capital goods, meat, grub, skins, vehicles, clothes, and other personal belongings. Children are not regarded as owning property until they approach maturity. "Children got nothing," Old Man said. "Just they eat. When full grown, they have their own stuff. They get money from daddy or sometimes they good trappers and pick up their own stuff." A child's money is its own, even when held by

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

parents, and should not be spent without the owner's consent. The traps used by a wife or child belong to the man, but, as already pointed out, any fur which is caught in them belongs to the individual trapper. The man hunts and buys food, but once food is in camp it is controlled by the woman. A woman will seldom alienate any grub without first consulting her husband.

Property transactions. Three main forms of property transactions can be distinguished: appropriation, alienation by gift, and alienation by lending. Other forms of alienation, such as destruction, renting, and selling either occur rarely or not at all.

Appropriation often takes place when a son or son-in-law helps himself to his father's or father-in-law's goods without having any formal right of access to such property. Harry Lang appropriated a number of his father-in-law's tools, which he subsequently loaned to the ethnographer, designating them as his own. When Old Man saw these tools he pointed out his claim of ownership but beyond this made no effort to resume control. Old Kean's adult sons several times appropriated their father's cigarettes and food. This made the old man angry but, beyond buying new locks for those that had been broken, he was unable to enforce his control. In early summer, Old Man had cached a large portion of the subsequent winter's outfit at Louis Maza's place. In the fall Old Man expressed the fear that Louis Maza was using his dog meal and other goods. Asked if this was "all right," Old Man resignedly replied: "That's all right. Maybe he figger that's because I use his boat." On another occasion, as he was packing for a journey, Louis Maza's partner, Peter Tom, produced a flashlight. Louis picked up the light and said he would "hold" it until Peter came back, adding that he could use a flash if he had to look for something at night. Peter responded without a word to the appropriation. When people are drunk, they often quite uninhibitedly appropriate food. One night Old Man was sleeping off a drunk in Lower Post. When he awoke he discovered that his friends had helped themselves to a carton full of canned meat and fruit, leaving only the empty box. "Not stealing," Old Man said in response to the ethnographer's question. "Just they hungry and thirsty and eat." He was, however, far from pleased. In the Yukon, where trap lines are not registered, even trap lines may be appropriated. When Old Wiley died, leaving several daughters, the Wiley line was appropriated by his adjoining neighbors, Louis Maza and Old Wiley's brother-in-law, Old Man. Old Man, however, explained that he had originally given the ground to Old Wiley after the latter had followed him in settling on the Upper Liard. The appropriation of the Wiley line was resented by at least one of the Wiley daughters who, after the ethnographer returned to Lower Post from Old Man's place, interrogated him as to where the old man was trapping.

In gift giving, there is a wide gap between theory and practice. Ideally: "Who's poor luck, help him out little bit," said John Kean. "Help one another. Lazy man never think what he's going to live on . . . I help him out. I think . . . might he be better next winter. Might he help me sometime." He explained that a stranger in camp is always asked if he wants to eat. A friend, however, is told to help himself to food. "We don't worry about it. Glad to do it." Only when a man persists too long in living on another person's generosity would he be told to go into the bush and trap for himself. Even then a generous man will ideally stake a friend to a hundred dollars or so for capital goods and food.

Manifestly we can classify gifts into two kinds, those made spontaneously and those

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Upper Liard
Dease River

entire summer. A cruder type of spruce-bark vessel, containing a single-pole gunwale and fewer ribs, served to cross a river and might be manufactured in an hour or two. After serving its purpose it was discarded. Spruce craft remained undecorated. When employed for hunting beaver, the hulls might be blackened with charcoal in order to make the vessels resemble sticks of driftwood. The occupants of a bark canoe sat on piles of moss about ten inches thick, legs being tucked under the body and feet flaring out in a slight angle. When he wearied of this position a man stretched his legs out in front of him but he never sat with crossed legs. Upon sighting game the Indian pointed the craft in the direction of the animal before letting his arrow fly. Shooting from the boat at an acute angle to the hull threatened capsizing. Spruce canoes constituted fragile craft. The informant recalled one that broke under the weight of a moose. While any man might try his hand at making such a vessel, a certain amount of skill was prerequisite and occasionally able men made canoes in exchange for skins and arrows. Ownership of the boat rested in the man but women freely used the smaller variety for fishing.

As we have pointed out, the scarcity of white birch in the region of the upper Liard River prohibited the manufacture of birch-bark canoes. In 1842 Campbell had to send from Fort Halkett to Fort Liard for this material in order to construct canoes for exploring the Pelly River.[34] Decked canoes and sails likewise did not exist and only rarely did travelers fasten their canoes in pairs. Sometimes this practice occurred in smooth water, when two families moved camp together. In dangerous water the boats separated.

Men constructed paddles from spruce wood, the handle being shaped with a rounded knob at the upper end.[35] A hole drilled through this knob admitted the paddler's finger and gave him a firmer grip. Blades contained a center ridge from which the wood tapered to thin edges. For bailing voyagers employed a dipper carved from birch wood but minus any handle.[36] Bailers were sometimes decorated.

Indians forded rivers by swimming in cases where an exceptionally strong current prohibited the use of rafts. The swimmers clutched a floating pole as they paddled.[37] Women crossed simultaneously with men but a short distance further downstream. Everyone in the aboriginal community knew how to swim.

Dease River Kaska. Winter land transportation in the Dease River basin depended on skin and wood toboggans as well as on snowshoes. The sled remained unknown until introduced by Euro-Canadians. The skin stripped from the leg of a caribou made a useful vehicle in which to haul meat over loose snow. Wooden toboggans utilized spruce or birch wood and lacked the sharply upturned nose characteristic of the modern-style

[34] Campbell, *Discovery and Exploration of the Pelly (Yukon) River* (1883).

[35] Crutch-handle paddles were in general use on the Northwest Coast. Drucker, *Culture Element Distributions: XXVI, Northwest Coast* (1950), 182.

[36] Bailers consisting of a wooden scoop are widespread on the Pacific Coast while bark bailers are more characteristic of the Plateau. Drucker, *Culture Element Distributions: XXVI, Northwest Coast* (1950), 182; Ray, *Culture Element Distributions: XXII, Plateau* (1942), 158.

[37] Judging from Hornell's data, swimming floats have rarely been reported for North America. Hornell, *Water Transport* (1946), 3 ff.

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Upper Liard

respect to beaver is partly explicable in terms of the animal's habit of remaining and reproducing within a relatively circumscribed district unless population pressure forces migration of the excess stock. Thus in most years Indians could depend upon being able to find food wherever beaver lodges were known to exist.

Of movable goods a man owned the bark and wood dishes, as well as the eating utensils which he made for his family, his own tools, caches (but not the food upon them), personal clothing, canoe, weapons, toboggan, personal snowshoes, and masks. A woman owned the bark- and spruce-root vessels that she manufactured, personal tools, the dwelling, food, prepared skins, personal clothing, all lines except those which she had given to her husband, and paints. Meat on a cache or freshly killed game cannot be considered the exclusive property of either the hunter or his family because the community felt and exercised a claim on such food. Failure to meet this expectation in the case of large game animals aroused resentment. In a sense children owned their toys as well as personal clothing and snowshoes. The mother controlled a child's possessions but they could not be disposed of outside the family, even by lending without the child's permission. By virtue of the control which parents claimed over a young person's nominal possessions they were able to use the latter freely. Although death might be followed by the destruction of some goods belonging to the deceased the custom did not have as its purpose transmission of wealth to the ghost. In the absence of grave goods people did not conceive of the ghost as owning anything. Even the burial clothes worn by the corpse "belonged to nobody."

Aside from one's name, ownership did not attach toward intangible goods. Nobody exercised individual control over songs or folk tales but it is likely that every man enjoyed some exclusive rights over the magical songs which he had dreamed on the vision quest.

Inheritance norms pertained to names and material goods alone.[84] Following death one half of a man's possessions went to his brother while the children divided the other half. Personal items were destroyed. A son usually acquired the scalps taken in battle. The widow might receive a share of the goods to which her brother-in-law enjoyed paramount rights, but her inclusion in inheritance does not appear to have been rigorously enforced. A man could marry his widowed sister-in-law or else could dispose of her to another husband but it is probably incorrect to list this pattern in a discussion of chattels. A woman's wealth fell to the widower, who customarily gave all or most of it to his brother's wife. The knife employed to sever the umbilical cord became the property of a woman's daughter.

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a lot of trouble between different tribes is started, also amongst the tribe itself." (Field, *Unpublished manuscript* [1913], 9.) Among the Tsetsaotena (Beaver Indians of Fort Liard, perhaps the same group to which McLean refers), "when an Indian discovers one or more beaver lodges, if not already appropriated, he immediately puts his mark upon them, and no one dares to intrude upon his property without his permission, although I know of no punishment inflicted upon the guilty party unless it be the infamy attached to the action, which is considered as very mean and heinous." Keith, *Letters to Mr. Roderic McKenzie* (1890), 69.

[84] For the inheritance of names see below, p. 141.